CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form
234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the
771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their
778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as
more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial.
773 The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart
who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

special directions, and there are special features of the 181
organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the 234
two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of 771
the clans of which each division is composed. 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief 778
features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. 825
These animals are divided into those of a sacred character 234
and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different 234
in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol 621
possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes
are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other 463
hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I 778
could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of 192
them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

[1] This word should probably be *palli* and was usually pronounced *palthli*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karithi*, milking or milked.

234 621 778 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of the *ti* or the *tiiv*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 778 463 993 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely, *kavalol*. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti* should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

---

[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
234 *wursolir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
463 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
554 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the
618 Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own
division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
● 793 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are
more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[293] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of
a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having
at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*,
[834] and at Nodrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the
hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz.,
Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may
[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these
occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman.
He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

as if these three objects are removed because they are used 562
by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed 784
to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, al- 793
though, at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the 234
poh at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It 343
is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most 778
ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why 788
the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the *wursol* is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi*."

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the 343
ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 352

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd
173 were sent from Amnòdr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was
pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much
delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the
calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open
the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was
tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are
descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kiwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse
793 with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his
waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when
milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing
788 features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk
(*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the
ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy,
and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

---

[1] The world of the dead.

1/1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

234 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one
554 companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes
778 no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the
784 two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for
any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed
● 773 a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the
dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building
and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion
sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed
(*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy
structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping
in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two
beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of
292 comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a
793 very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The
pohkartpol must be celibate while in office, and his companion,
must also be celibate while at the
dairy.

[343
351]

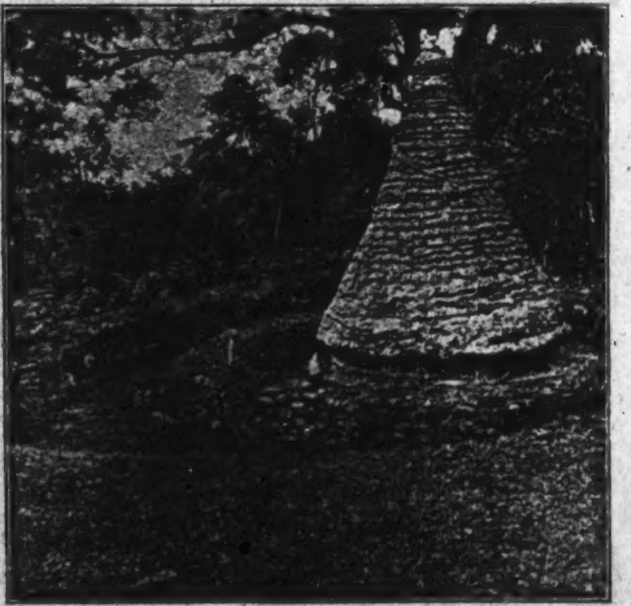


FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANÓDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* 264
must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds 554
the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must 784
throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his 788
lips, but must pour into his mouth from above. 793 ●

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk 192
receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of 234
the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairy- 184
men so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali 234
villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* 621
of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear
to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar [292]
tarvali. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wursulir* of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a 621
dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 778

CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a 234
herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing 793
districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village.

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but 184
the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being 234
in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the 616
palol of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never-

115

nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy. 124, 234

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy. 234 343 793●

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people. 234 417 778

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pen tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mödr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring. 234 312 778

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

---

[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mukudr*, and for the calf-pen, *tülkkudr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kudr*.

234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkaftthwaskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 ● 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *toratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *podrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

---

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

234 prayer, but after I had settled on the foregoing description as
512 correct I was allowed one day by the *kaltmokh* to go near
788 the dairy while the *palol* was praying, and was able to hear
the beating on the earthenware vessel with each word of the
793 prayer.

The next step is to take up the *pohvet* and place it against the wall, and then the *palol* begins to churn the coagulated milk in the middle *persin*, milk in this state being here called *kudabpol* instead of *adrpars*, as in the ordinary dairy.

In those cases in which the *mani* is 'fed,' the *palol* puts *kudabpol* on the bell shortly after beginning to churn. This is done three times, the syllable *On* being uttered each time. When the *palol* does anything three times in this way, he says that he does it *mushtiu*. This expression for 'thrice' is not used in the ordinary dairy.

The next steps are to pour into the *kwoi* and *karitòrzum* most of the coagulated milk which has been broken up by the churning, to add to the milk remaining in the *persin* some *persinpen*, or butter especially kept for the purpose in the *peptòrzum*, to add water, and to churn the mixture of coagulated milk, water, and butter in the middle *persin*. When the new butter is formed, the *palol* pours out the buttermilk into the vessel called *idrkwoi*, keeping back the butter with his hand. The buttermilk is transferred from the *idrkwoi* to one of the *alug* in the outer room. Some of the milk which had been put into the *kwoi* or *karitòrzum* is then poured back into the middle *persin*, more water is added, and the mixture is churned, after which the buttermilk is again transferred by means of the *idrkwoi* to the *alug*, while the butter is kept in the *persin*. This procedure is repeated till all the milk of the middle *persin* has been churned.

The *persin* on the right-hand side of the *palol* is then taken, and its position exchanged with that of the vessel hitherto used, and the churning is continued in exactly the same manner. The buttermilk is transferred to the *alug*, but the butter when formed is transferred to the *persin*, which had been originally in the middle. When the contents of the second *persin* have been churned, the third *persin* is placed in the middle and the same procedure is followed, so that when

234 the churning is over all the butter which has been formed will
512 be in the *persin* which was originally in the middle. Some
of this butter is put into the *peptòrzum* to act as *persinpen* on
788 another occasion, and the remainder is transferred to the
793 butter *alug* by means of the *idrkwoi*. The two *tòrzum* are then put on the tops of two of the *persin* as covers, the *peptòrzum* being placed on the middle *persin* and the *palol* takes the milking-vessel (*kwoi*) and wand (*kwoinörtpet*) in his right hand and goes out to milk, having first put some buttermilk, called *pep*, into the *kwoi*.

When the *palol* leaves the dairy, he raises the milking-vessel and wand to his forehead and salutes in the way shown in Fig. 27. The Todas say that he is saluting the sun and the buffaloes. It is probable that, in general, the *palol* faces approximately east as he salutes, but there is no doubt that, at the present time, his salutation is chiefly to the buffaloes. He salutes in the same direction both morning and evening, and certainly pays no attention to the direction in which the sun lies.

This salutation is now often done in a very perfunctory manner. The vessel and wand may be raised hastily to the forehead for a few seconds only as the *palol* goes towards his buffaloes, and I am doubtful whether the salutation is ever performed exactly as shown in the figure, for the vessel contains some of the buttermilk called *pep*, which might be spilt if the vessel were held quite horizontally.

When the *palol* salutes, he says "*On*" three times, and repeats two or three clauses of the dairy prayer, usually the *kwarzam* of the more important gods of the dairy.

When going to milk and when going from one buffalo to another, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* are always held together in the right hand. When the *kwoi* is filled, it is taken into the dairy. If it is the custom of the dairy to put milk on the *mani*, this is now done three times, saying "*On*" each time, and then the milk is poured into the middle *persin*, the *kwoi* being held in the left hand, and the *palol* goes out again to refill the *kwoi*. When all the *persinir* have been milked, the milk of the three *persin* is mixed together by pouring from one to the other. The reason for this is that the buttermilk, called *pep*,

234 is only taken out in the *kwoi* on first going to milk, and
512 in consequence the *pep* would affect the milk of the middle
788 *persin* only if its contents were not mixed with those of the vessels filled later.

793 The *palol* next goes out to milk the *punir*, taking for this purpose the vessel called *karpun* and an ordinary wand, the *kwoi* and *kwoinörtpet* being only used for the more sacred buffaloes. There was some difference of opinion as to what should be done with the milk of the *punir*. According to

FIG. 27.—THE 'PALOL,' KARKIEVAN, SALUTING AT MÒDR. HE IS STANDING IN THE 'PEPKARMUS.' THE BUILDING NEXT TO THE 'PALOL' IS THE 'TI POH'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'KARENPOH,' AND BETWEEN IT AND THE 'TI POH' CAN BE SEEN THE HUT WHERE THE INHABITANTS OF THE 'TI MAD' SLEEP.

234 some it may be used to fill the *persin* if these are not filled
512 by the milk of the *persinir*; according to others it is wrong
to do this, and the milk of *punir* should on no account be put
788 in the more sacred vessels of the inner room. I think there
793 is no doubt that at the Nòdrs *ti* at any rate the first procedure is followed. At this *ti* the *punir* outnumber the *persinir* by far, and it is probable that the milk of the former is used to supplement that of the more sacred buffaloes, although it is contrary to tradition that this should be done.

FIG. 28.—TO SHOW THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE 'PALOL' WHEN PRAYING.

The three *persin* being filled, the *tòrzum* are again put on as covers, and the *palol* takes up the wand called *pohvet*, and prays, standing in front of the screen (*patun*) with his hands lying over one another crosswise on the top of the stick as shown in Fig. 28. He recites the full prayer of the *ti*, then replaces the *pohvet* between the *persin* and the *patun* and this act of replacing the wand marks the end of the more sacred part of the dairy operations. If a Toda wishes to ascertain if the work of the dairy is over, he asks, "Has he taken the *pohvet*?"

The *palol* now unties his hair, sees to anything necessary in connexion with his food, fills the *uppun* with buttermilk, and then leaves his dairy and goes to sit on the seat called *pohvelkars* on one side of the door of the dairy, viz., on the opposite side to that on which the *mani* is placed. At Mòdr he sits on the stone on the right side of the door when going

234
512
788
793

in (K in Fig. 26), and the fact that he does so is one of the reasons which make it probable that the arrangement of the *poh* of that place is as I have given it in the plan.

When the *palol* has seated himself on the *pokvelkars*, he calls out to the *kaltmokh* "*Kaizhvatitva*," "Come here and pour buttermilk!" When the *kaltmokh* comes, the *palol* gives the *uppun* to the boy, who says three times "*Kaizhvatkina*," "Shall I pour buttermilk?" and the *palol* replies each time, "*Vat*!" The *kaltmokh* pours from the *uppun* into a cup made of the leaf called *kakuders* held by the *palol*, who drinks after raising to his forehead. This is repeated till the *palol* is satisfied, when the leaf-cup from which he has been drinking is thrown away,[1] and he goes again into the outer room to get food. He gives food to the *kaltmokh*, who eats it in the sleeping-hut, while the *palol* himself eats sitting on the *pokvelkars*. If any *mòrol* (see p. 107) are present, they are fed at this stage with buttermilk and food by the *kaltmokh*, who gives them the buttermilk out of the *mòrpun*, pouring it into leaf-cups as when giving to the *palol*.

The rest of the morning is passed in looking after the buffaloes, cutting firewood, plucking leaves used as cups and plates, or doing any other work connected with the *ti*.

In the afternoon the *palol* returns to his dairy and goes through the same operations as in the morning, except that he fetches water from the *kwoinir* early in the proceedings, usually bringing enough for the work of that afternoon and of the next morning. He churns the milk drawn in the morning, and when the time for milking has arrived, the buffaloes will have returned to the milking-place, and as soon as they arrive their calves are let out from the house (*karenpoh*) in which they have been kept.

When the churning and milking are over, the buffaloes are shut up in the *tu* for the night. The *palol* then takes buttermilk as in the morning, and both he and the *kaltmokh* take their food. The latter eats his food in the sleeping-hut as in

---

[1] In the story of Kwoto and the Keradr *ti* (Chap. IX) the *kaltmokh* has to pour away buttermilk at an appointed spot. It is probable that this buttermilk is that unfinished by the *palol*, and possibly this custom is still followed but was not mentioned by my informants.

234 the mornin[illegible] the *palol* does not enter till the boy has
512 finished. As the *palol* enters, the *kaltmokh* says "*Oñ*" thrice,
788 takes the horn or horns, and standing at the door blows three
times (if there are two horns, three times on each horn), and
793 then re-enters the hut and all go to rest.

In the afternoon the *palol* prays three times; when lighting the lamp, and after milking and filling the three *persin* as in the morning, and again after shutting up the buffaloes in the *tu* for the night, when he stands in front of the entrance to the pen. In each case he uses the whole of the ordinary prayer of the dairy. He also utters a few clauses of the prayer when going out to milk. These prayers will be given in Chap. X.

THE PALOL

184 The *palol*, who must belong to the Teivaliol, is chosen
234 by the members of the Tarthar clan to which the *ti* belongs.
463 He may hold office for as long as he pleases up to eighteen
793 years, and, according to some accounts, he might continue in
office even after this period, though there is no case known in
which this has happened.

The usual duration of office seems now to be only two or three years, though a man may often be reappointed either to the same or another *ti*. At the time of my visit, one *palol* had been continuously in office for sixteen years, another for six years, and the rest for shorter periods. At the present time the office of *palol* is vacant at several dairies owing to the difficulty of obtaining qualified occupants.

437 During the whole time he holds office, the *palol* may
793 not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he
may visit another *ti* village. Any business with the outside
world is done either through the *kaltmokh* or with people
who come to visit him at the *ti*. All business with the
Badagas is transacted through a special man of this caste
784 called the *tikelfmav*. If the *palol* has to cross a river, he may
793 not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford; and it appears that
he may only use certain fords; thus it is easy to cross the
Paikara river just above the bridge, but the *palol* of the Nòdrs

ti was not allowed to do so and had to use a ford nearer to the 784
dairy at Mòdr. 793

The *palol* must be celibate, and if married, he must leave his
wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or 785
brothers. According to the account given by Finicio in 1603, 833
the *palol* could send for his wife and meet her in a wood every week or so and might also send for the wives of any other Todas. It is possible that this may still happen, but I failed to obtain an account of it and understood that the *palol* was really celibate. According to Finicio the restriction to which the *palol* is subject is that he may not touch a woman in the house. We have seen that in the lowest rank of the dairyman-priesthood intercourse with women in the house is allowed at any time and in the higher ranks only on certain days of the week. It is quite consistent with this that in the highest rank intercourse in the house should be altogether forbidden, but might still be allowed in the forest, and it is quite possible that Finicio is correct. I was unacquainted with his account at the time of my visit, and all other writers had been so unanimous as to the complete celibacy of the *palol* that I did not press my inquiries on this point very closely.

If a death occurs in the clan of a *palol*, he cannot attend 234
any of the funeral ceremonies unless he gives up his office. If
he resigns he is not again eligible for the office till the second 463
funeral ceremonies have been completed. When a man of 784
one clan gives up his office in this way, his place must be
taken by a man of some other clan. Karkievan of Piedr was 793
palol of the Nòdrs *ti* eighteen years ago and resigned when his wife died, his place being taken by Tulchievan of Kusharf. Two years later Karkievan resumed office and has been *palol* continuously since that time. Though there have been many deaths among the Piedrol, he has not attended a funeral, and has not, therefore, had to resign his post again.

In old times, it seems probable that it was usual to give up the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan. According to tradition, the division of the Keadrol into the Keadrol and Kwaradrol by Kwoten (see Chap. IX) was ordained in order that there might still be men to undertake the office of *palol* when there was a death in the clan, the men of the

234 Keadrol taking office when there was a death among the
463 Kwaradrol and *vice versa*.

556 It has been stated by several writers on the Todas that the
784 *palol* does not profit in any way by his sacred office. I made
most careful inquiries on this point, and there seemed to be no
793 doubt that the *palol* may often make a considerable income from the sale of the ghi made from the milk of the herd under his charge; one *palol* was stated to make six rupees a week in this way, and while he has been in office is said to have increased his own herd (*i.e.*, that of his own family) by no less than twenty-five buffaloes. In one recent case, a man has resigned the post of *palol* to the Pan *ti* because he found the income was too small.

234 According to my informant, Kaners, a man used always to
accept the office of *palol* unwillingly. When the offer came
463 to him, he would say, "I cannot leave my buffaloes; I cannot
554 leave my wife and my children." Then the people would say,
556 "You are born for the *ti*; it is your birthright; you must not
793 refuse"; and the man would reluctantly consent. Now the Todas are in more need of money than they used to be, and there is no difficulty in obtaining candidates for those dairies at which the pecuniary advantages are sufficiently great, so that people will now beg to be appointed as *palol* to certain dairies, and it is even whispered that bribes have been offered in order to obtain office. There is no doubt whatever that the pecuniary reward is the chief inducement to people to undertake the charge.

234 The Nòdrs *ti* has the largest herd of buffaloes, and I was
told that this *ti* is very much coveted, while others which
463 have few buffaloes are unable to obtain a *palol* at all. My
554 Teivali friends invariably talked about the *ti* in exactly the
793 same kind of way that an Englishman talks about a benefice.

At the present time there are several instances in which the office of *palol* is vacant, and there seems to be a growing difficulty in filling many of these places. There is little doubt that the chief reason for this is that the herds have become very small, so that the resulting profit does not offer sufficient inducement; but there is also no doubt that the exclusion from the home and the limitation of intercourse

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are 234
thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is
in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general govern- 554
ment of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him
for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, 793
and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has
absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy
and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on
the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant
or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not
ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business
except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing
whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The
sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him
are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and
not at all to the man.

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two 554
days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if 558
he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable
distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of 778
a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I 783
had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance
was diminished on some occasions. 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, 793
with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite
form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. 576
When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bañ*," and
the Tarthar man replies "*ɩIr kañdâ*," literally "Buffalo, calf,
have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan,
the *palol* says the *kwarsam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed
by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh*

793 *kûtmeii ten idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches,
576 the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with
the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was
576 said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interest-
783 ing example, however, of the way in which a regulation of
788 this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing
793 to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not
been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 There are several regulations concerning the food of the
439 *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the
Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was
784 formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but
793 nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through
them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pohvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mani*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies. 262 793 ●

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *iikelfmav.*[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni.* It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni.* The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur.* 292 437 439

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office. 784 793

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the 786 793 833

---

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

786 wood completely naked till sunset, when he dresses and returns
793 to the neighbourhood of his dairy, but remains in an adjoining
wood till midnight. He then bathes in a stream and going
833 to the dairy calls "*Kaltmokhia!*" twice. The *kaltmokh* comes out of the sleeping hut and brings a stone resembling the *pohvelkars*, on which the *palol* sits, and the *kaltmokh* pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol* according to the customary ritual. Then the *kaltmokh* brings the *[illegible]pun*, and the *palol* washes his hands and goes to rest. There was some difference of opinion among the Todas as to whether the *palol* would continue to hold office after this ceremony. He undoubtedly returns to his work, but it seemed probable that he would retire after a short time and his place be taken by another. In this ceremony the celibate priest after eighteen years of office has intercourse with a woman belonging to the division not his own. This takes place in the day-time, the *palol* thus committing an act which is ordinarily regarded by the Todas as immoral.[1]

The last occasion on which this ceremony was performed was when it was done by Kodrizbon, who lived before the time of the grandfather of Kaners, who is himself an old man. Karkievan has now been *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* for sixteen years, and there was already at the time of my visit much talk among the Todas about the ceremony which he might be expected to perform two years later.

184 A man who has given up the office of *palol* is known as *patol*.
554 It was quite clear that, on resigning office, he entirely lost his
793 sanctity, and it did not seem that he derived any great social importance from having held the sacred office. I could find
234 no instance of a man who had been *palol* having any special influence or power either in his clan or among the Todas generally. Only in one way are the *patol* important, and that is as repositories of the knowledge of the dairy ritual, and any man about to enter on the office of *palol* will learn the details of the ritual from those who have held office before him.

I could learn of one privilege only pertaining to a *patol*.

---

[1] It is possible that Finicio was told of this custom, and that his statement about the relations of the *palol* to women only refer to this ceremony.

He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol,* 184
after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that 554
occasion he receives food from the *palol.* 793

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally 234
continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age.
He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. 793
He is a general assistant to the *palol,* and has also certain 463
definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the
palol and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in
several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings 292
he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm 784
outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the
pül of the *ti,* he must be naked except for the *kuvn.* When 788
he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path 793
used by the *palol,* but must use a special path, carrying the
cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr
dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept
his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad,* and then went in
and out by the same path as the *palol.*

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol,* from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh,* the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh,* a lower 234
called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full 554
kaltmokh. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on
the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal 558
cloth. 784

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do 793
certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh.*
Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

234 the forbidden things, or even if he is likely to be in such a
554 position that he may have to do these things, he becomes
558 *perkursol.* This he does by throwing off the *petuni* and
784 dipping one leg either into the pool of water called *tarupunkudi*
773 (see p. 177) or into the dairy stream (*pali nipa*) of an
ordinary dairy (if he dipped his leg into the *ars nipa*, or part of a stream used for ordinary household purposes, he would at once lose his office entirely and become an ordinary person). As soon as he has dipped his foot, he becomes *perkursol* and may do the following things summed up in the general expression *tarskwarårkůdthodi.* He may pass a village where there is a woman in the seclusion-hut (*puzhars*), or where the relics of the dead are being kept between the two funeral ceremonies; he may go to a place where the people have been in communication with a village in which either of these conditions exist; he may pass a river by a bridge, and he may go to the *wursuli* of a Tarthar village. If the full *kaltmokh* does any of these things, even unwittingly, he would at once become an ordinary person (*perol*). The *kaltmokh* degrades himself to the rank of *perkursol* even when there is merely the danger that he may infringe any of the restrictions; thus, one day when there was a woman at Karia who was in seclusion after childbirth, the *kaltmokh* at Mòdr, Katsog (55), was going to the hut of the forest guard near Paikara. He would not have to pass Karia, but there was a chance that the forest guard might have been in communication with the people of Karia, and therefore Katsog became *perkursol.* A *perkursol* is regarded as of the same rank as a *wursol*, and the people spoke of *perkursol* as a *ti* word for *wursol*—*i.e.*, a *wursol* at the *ti* was called *perkursol*, just as a *madth* (churn) at the *ti* was called *kòghlag.* In order to regain his rank as full *kaltmokh*, the *perkursol* has to perform the same ceremony as that which takes place at the end of the ordination to this office (see Chap. VII).

While the *kaltmokh* is degraded to the rank of *perkursol* he may not touch any dairy vessels; he may not pour buttermilk for the *palol*, nor may he blow the horns—*i.e.*, he may do none of the more important and sacred duties of his office.

called Ebenput (?) near Musinigudi. When new vessels are required, and there is only one *kaltmokh*, a second is appointed, who goes to Ebenput, where he cuts bamboo called *kòli*, which is large enough for the dairy vessels. The bamboo is taken by the *kaltmokh* to the *ti*, and the new vessels are manufactured by the *palol*.

234
314
322
415

It is possible for the *kaltmokh* to go to Ebenput and back in one day, but if unable to do this he may stay the night at Taradr, the nearest *etudmad* to Musinigudi. The bamboo for the new vessels, however, must not be taken to Taradr, but must be left in a wood near the village, and taken on to the *ti mad* on the following day.

793

Any new vessels or implements must be purified before being used. The earthenware vessels of the inner room are taken from the Badagas who bring them, and are rubbed over, inside and out, with the bark of the *tudr* tree, after which the bark is put inside the vessel, water is poured in three times, saying "*On*," and the contents rinsed round and poured out. Water is then put in the vessel, which is placed for a time on the fireplace to make it look old, the fireplace used being the *pelkkatitthwaskal*. The *kòghlag* or churning stick is purified by rubbing *tudr* bark over it and pouring water all over it three times. The churning stick and the earthenware vessels of the inner room are both purified in the outer room of the dairy, and the purification must be performed on a Sunday.

234
412
415
783

The *kwoi* is purified on the same day of the week in front of the buffalo enclosure or *tu*. After churning, the *palol* takes the new *kwoi*, and a *tòrsum* full of water, and purifies the former with *tudr* bark and water three times in the way already described. He then milks into the new *kwoi* for the first time, and on this occasion he must be careful not to fill the vessel completely.

The *idrkwoi* is purified in the same manner as the other vessels and also on a Sunday, but the purification is performed at the junction of the inner and outer rooms of the dairy.

New vessels and other objects belonging to the outer room are purified with the same procedure in their own room, but on a Tuesday or Wednesday.

234

343

352 which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

173 The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the
people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was
234 ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol,
618 but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming
773 *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago,
when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to
●793 fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*,
which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed :

Per wadrth vèdrmâ, kârs wadrth vèdrmâ, män mas vèdrmâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

---

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 110.)

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer 173
have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that 234
in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from 618
Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of 773
Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen 793
years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*.
The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had
been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The
kaltmokh is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is 234
that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has 552
been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said 778
to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron.
Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning
and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, 234
and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called 354
Ônâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a
similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs 773
ti. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and 778
Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called
Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of
Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

---

[1] In 1902.

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had 173
the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into 234
disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund,
and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would 621
have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from 773
Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs,
which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place
of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in 234
addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* 793
and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*.
Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their
corresponding dairies, there has never been more than
one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained
to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he
attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the
parspoh, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to
the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later,
and from that time to the end of his period of office he works
in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he
continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*.
The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the
vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo.
This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes,
has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three [552]
names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called
Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, 234
but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and 778
dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made
of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kårvůk kiůzthenis ůpi vůchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. 173 Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy 234 of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. 621 Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to 773 the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling 793 into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
618 *warspoh*.

●793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the
463 ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn
is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
178 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the 173
mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be 234
more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was
instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that 773
one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called
Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the
milking-vessel.

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between 234
Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were 621
at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first
of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used.

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, 177
only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were
not being milked. 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony 793
in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the
Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are
about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are
appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and
the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas.
The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his
appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who
would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the
success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if
there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*.

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold [765]
the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a
Kwòdrdoni person.

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of 234
buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The 773
buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands
of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the
dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers.

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking 184
buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but 234
they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part
in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the 554
people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*.

The Nidrsi Ti

173
234
621
773
793

This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

the *idrkwoi*, which is put exactly at the line of junction of the two rooms. 234x

After this the things of the outer room are put in their places. Fire is made by friction, and the *tòratthwaskal* lighted, light transferred from this to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and with the fire so made the *palol* lights the lamp. 796

In most cases the buffaloes are then milked, but at Anto and Òdrtho, before milking, the *palol* begins an extraordinary ceremony, in which the *kaltmokh* is concerned, which is continued till the following day. 234x 793● 796

For this ceremony food is especially prepared by the *palol*. He mixes husked grain (*patcherski*), brought by the Badagas who accompany the procession, with buttermilk and jaggery,[1] spreads butter on the mixture, and, putting it on a *kakud* leaf, takes it out to one of the two *kaltmokh* who is sitting in a given place about ten yards from the dairy. The *kaltmokh* must now stay on this spot till the evening.

After the *palol* has milked, he takes food himself and gives it to the *mòrol*. Before going to rest for the night a ceremony is performed called *irtupadrchiti*, "he prays for the buffaloes at the *tu*." The two *palol* go to the front of the *tu*,[2] in which the buffaloes have been put for the night and they pray, using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and of the gods only. They then go to the sleeping hut, where the second *kaltmokh* has swept the floor and prepared a fire. When the *palol* come to the hut they bawl out in a high key three times and the *kaltmokh* does the same and they go to bed, the two *palol* occupying one bed (*tün*) and the *mòrol* and the second *kaltmokh* the other. After they have been in the hut some time, the first *kaltmokh*, who has been sitting till now outside at the place where he was given food, creeps into the hut and lies down to sleep between the two beds without any covering. No notice of him must be taken by the other occupants of the hut.

The following day is called *punirsnol*. In the early morning, before the others are awake, the first *kaltmokh* must get

---

[1] Palm-juice sugar.

[2] At Anto, and probably at some other dairies, there is a special *tu* for use on this occasion.

234 up, light the fire, warm himself, and then go out and sit on the same spot as on the previous evening. He remains
793 there till the two *palol* come to him to continue the ceremony
796 in which he is concerned.

539 When the *palol* rise they do their usual work, and when they have milked they perform a ceremony called *karkutkirsiti*,[1] in which the calves are prayed for in the same way that the buffaloes were prayed for on the previous evening. The second *kaltmokh* collects the calves in the *pepkarmus*, or milking-place of the buffaloes, and the two *palol*, each with empty *kwoi* and with *kwoinörtpet*, pray as on the previous evening using the *kwarzam* of the *ti* and some of the *kwarzam* of the gods, and then bawl out in a high key three times in order to scatter the calves.

The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* is then continued. Each of the *palol* takes the vessel used for ladling buttermilk (*mòrkudriki*); one *palol* fills his vessel with the milk of *punir* and the other fills with *nei* (clarified butter). Each leaves his dairy, and they both call to the *kaltmokh*, who comes to the threshold of the *ti poh*, and stands there while the two *palol* mix the milk and *nei*. The *kaltmokh* is then told to hold out his hands, and each *palol* pours out the mixture into the hands of the boy, who rubs it over his head first, and then all over his body. After the *kaltmokh* has thus been bathed in milk and *nei*, the three people walk in procession to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been sitting, the *kaltmokh* going first, followed by the *wars palol* and the *ti palol* in order. As they walk, the two *palol* say the following words:—

Kŏda	*mâ;*	*pirsi*	*puti*	*vurmâ;*	*pob*	*ers*	*vurmâ;*
die	may (he);	tiger	catch	(him) may;	snake	bite	(him) may;
per	*pŭdith*	*vurmâ*	*pŭkh*	*pŭdith*	*vurmâ*	*pudi*	
steep hill	fall down	(on him) may;	river	fall	(on him) may[2];	wild boar	
eri	*mâ;*	*kŭdr*	*pat*	*mâ;*	*keirman*	*par*	*mâ.*
bite	may;	wild beast	hold (catch him)	may;	bear	carry (him) away	may.

---

[1] This word was translated "he prays for the calves." One verb is used in naming the ceremony of praying for the calves and another in the case of praying for the adult buffaloes.

[2] Probably this should be translated "may the river (when in flood) swallow him.

When they come to the spot where the *kaltmokh* had been given the food, the boy remains standing there while the two *palol* turn round and walk back in the dairy, saying:— 234x 793 796 539

Kōda mā, idvaik, ultĭmā; pirsi par mā,
die may (he), as was said, may he be well; tiger carry away may,
idvaik para vōmā; per pur mā, idvaik,
as was said, carry away may not; steep hill fall may, as was said,
puva vōmā; pĭb eri mā, idvaik, eria vōmā; pŭkh pur mā,
fall may not; snake bite may, as was said, bite may not; river fall may,
idvaik, puva vōmā; kŭdr pat mā, idvaik, pata
as was said, fall may not; wild beast catch may, as was said, catch
vōmā; kadrman par mā, idvaik, para vōmā;
may not; bear carry away may, as was said, carry away may not;
pudi eri mā, idvaik, eria vōmā.
wild boar bite may, as was said, bite may not.

The *ti palol* then enters his dairy and brings out an especially large ball of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, more than can possibly be eaten at one sitting. It is given to the *kaltmokh*, who sits on the same spot as before, and eats as much of it as he can. 234x 793 796

All this ceremony has been done after milking, and before drinking buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*), which is now poured out by the second *kaltmokh* for the *palol*, who then go about their usual business. When the first *kaltmokh* has eaten as much as he can of his ball of food he leaves it on the spot where he has been sitting, and goes with the *palol*. The Todas say that the food left behind will never be touched by the crows, who will eat any other food.

In the afternoon the *palol* transact their ordinary dairy business and the *kaltmokh* returns to his place and resumes the consumption of his ball of food, staying on the spot till the end of the day. When the two *palol* have gone into the sleeping hut for the night, the *kaltmokh* goes into the hut after them and may then talk to the other occupants, and after this follows the usual routine.

During the whole of this ceremony the *kaltmokh*, who takes so prominent a part in it, is called the *neursutpol*.

At the other dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* a ceremony which is obviously closely connected with that which has been

234 described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
773 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migration to the dairies of Anto and Òdrtho is one of the most
783 extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Òdrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

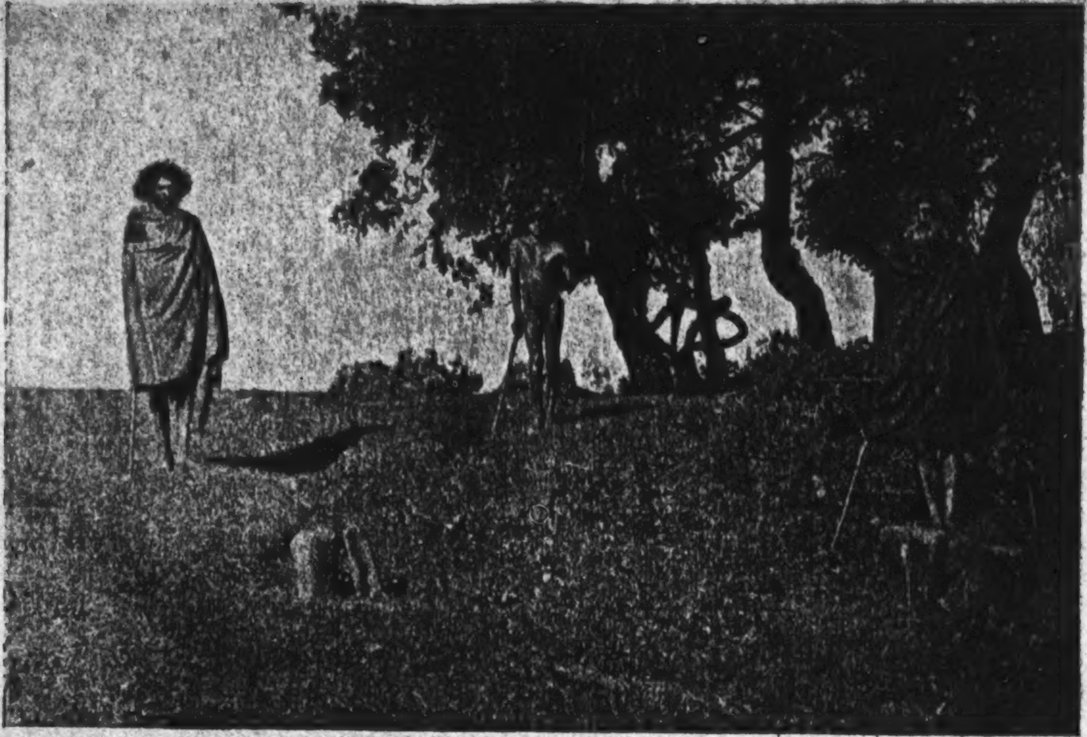


FIG. 33.—THE FOUR 'NEURZÜLNKARS' AT MÒDR. BEHIND THE STONES ON THE RIGHT IS KARKIEVAN, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'TIIR'; ON THE LEFT IS NERPONERS, THE 'PALOL' OF THE 'WARSIR'; IN THE CENTRE IS THE 'KALTMOKH,' KATSOG, CARRYING A SICKLE-SHAPED KNIFE.

793

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Òdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the place of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234K At some time during the day following the arrival at the
221 new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nòdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

CHAPTER VII

ORDINATION CEREMONIES

234x 783 793 BEFORE a dairyman enters upon office he has to undergo certain initial rites, which may fitly be spoken of as "ordination ceremonies." These ceremonies vary greatly in their elaborateness, according to the dairy in which the candidate is to serve.

In the case of the ordinary dairyman, or *palikartmokh*, the proceedings are simple and may be accomplished in a few minutes, while for the highest grade of the priesthood they are extremely elaborate and prolonged over more than a week.

The essential feature of all the ordination ceremonies is a process of purification by drinking and washing with the water of a stream or spring used for sacred purposes only (*palinipa* or *kwoinir*). In every case the water is drunk out of certain leaves, and the body is rubbed with water mixed with the juice of young shoots or bark.

A general name for ordination is *pelkkodichiti* or *pelkkatthtiti*, "lamp he lights." This name is derived from the fact that the first act in connexion with the dairy work which a new dairyman has to perform is to light the lamp of the dairy. The former of the two names given above was used especially in the case of the ordinary dairy and the latter in the case of the *ti*, but I am doubtful whether there is any strict limitation of the terms in these senses.

Another general name used for the ceremony of ordination is *niròditi*, which in a more limited sense is applied to the drinking and purification at the dairy stream or spring which

is the essential feature of the ceremony. This term was very 234^x^
often used for the ceremony of ordination to the office of 783
palol. 793

THE PALIKARTMOKH

The ceremony of ordination of the *palikartmokh* is called 234^x^
pelkkodichiti and very often *muliniròditi*, the latter being 793
derived from the *muli* leaves used in the ceremony. The ordination may take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday. On the day before the ceremony the candidate goes to the dairy, takes his food there, and sleeps at night in the outer room. His food is prepared and given to him either by the outgoing *palikartmokh* or by some other man holding this office.

On the morning of the ceremony the candidate washes his hands in the *pali nipa* and goes to the front of the dairy, having a piece of the ordinary mantle round his waist. The assisting *palikartmokh* will have placed a small piece of the dark cloth called *tuni* on the threshold of the dairy, this small piece being called *petuni*. The candidate bows down (*nersatiti*), as in Fig. 20, at the threshold to the *petuni*, which he then raises to his forehead and puts in the string of his *kuvu* on the left side.

The candidate then plucks seven leaves of the kind called *muliers*—*i.e.*, leaves of a plant called *muli* (*Rubus ellipticus*). This plant is also often called *pelkkodsthmul*, after the ceremony in which it is used. He also plucks a handful of young shoots or *nau* of the same plant, and takes the leaves and shoots to the dairy stream. At the stream he pounds the shoots with water on a stone, takes up some water from the stream with the pounded shoots, drops this water into one of the leaves three times, raises the leaf to his forehead, drinks (see Fig. 34), throws the leaf over his head and puts the shoots down on one side. When he squeezes the water from the shoots into the leaf-cup he holds the former in his right hand and the latter in his left, but when about to raise the leaf-cup to his forehead and drink he transfers it to his right hand. The candidate then takes a fresh piece of the pounded shoots and repeats with a second leaf, and so on till the seven leaves are

234 finished, throwing the leaf over his head in each case after
793 drinking.

He then takes all the pounded shoots which he has placed on one side, dips them in water, rubs them over his face and body three times, and puts them in his back hair, whence they are allowed to drop anywhere. In the only case in which I saw this ceremony I noticed that they remained in the hair till the end of the day.

The candidate then goes to the dairy, bows down at the threshold as in Fig. 20, and enters. If there are two rooms, he bows down in the same way at the threshold of the inner room. If there is a *mani*, he salutes it (*kaimukhti*) with hand to forehead. He next bows down to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, and finally touches a vessel of the *ertatmar*, usually the *majpariv*, and a vessel of the *patatmar*, the *patat*, and by doing this becomes a full *palikartmokh*. He proceeds to light the fire and the lamp and goes to milk the buffaloes.

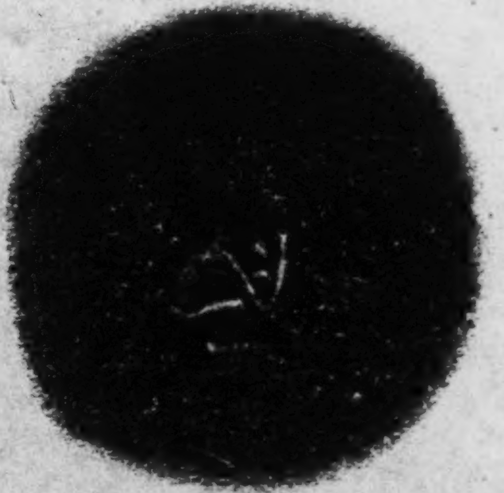


FIG. 34.—PUNATVAN (53) DRINKING DURING HIS ORDINATION AS 'PALIKARTMOKH' OF KARIA.

There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*. 234x 616 793 292

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvn*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarvalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvn* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwottün*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirid!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Tunirothkina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. This string is 234x 292 793

234x ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part
292 of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name
●793 is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and
234x seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through
793 exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *muliniròditi*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *muliniròditi* the candidate goes to the wall of the
[372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasòr* or *kiaz*.
[314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his thighs and, holding it there, depresses it so that he can pour 234x buttermilk into his leaf-cup; from this he pours into the leaf-cup of the candidate who then drinks, and this is repeated till 793● the latter is satisfied. The *palikartmokh* brings food and fire from the dairy and both stay in the wood for the night, being allowed to have companions. The place where they sleep is called *tavarpali.*

In the morning the candidate again goes for *tudr* bark and leaves, and carries out the whole ceremony seven times as on the previous evening. He then goes to the *tavarpali* and waits there till the *palikartmokh* has finished his morning work, when the candidate again receives buttermilk and food. Then both go out together to look after the buffaloes.

When they return in the afternoon the candidate goes to the dairy stream and bathes from head to foot. This bathing is called *tudraspipini* (*tudr* I have washed), its object being to wash off the *tudr* bark previously used. After this he takes a piece of the cloth called *twadrinar* and, using it as a girdle in addition to that he already wears, he goes to the wall of the dairy while the *palikartmokh* digs up a vessel called *mu* which is buried in the buffalo pen. (At Kars the *mu* which is used is that of the *tarvali.*) The *palikartmokh* then puts the *mu* on the ground and stands by it. The candidate asks three times, "*Muvatkina?*" "Shall I touch the *mu?*" and the *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Muvat!*" The candidate then touches the *mu*, and by doing so becomes a full *wursol.* The *mu* is reburied by the *palikartmokh.*

All the ceremonies so far have taken place at or near the 234x ordinary dairy, either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, or at the stream 788 belonging to one or other of these dairies. The candidate 793 now for the first time goes to the dairy in which he is to be *wursol* (the *wursuli*) and prostrates himself at the threshold. He next enters and prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and then to the *ertatmar*. He takes up and puts in its place one of the vessels of the *ertatmar* and then one of the vessels of the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), lights the fire and the lamp and prays, using the prayer of the village. He then cleans the vessels and goes to milk, doing *mani terzantirikiti* with the first milk as usual.

234x 783 793 I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANÒDRS

234x 778 793 The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *'ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234x 793 The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven leaves are used of the following kinds: *pelkkodsthmul*,[1] *puthimul*, *änmul*, *takmul*, *kadakmul*, *tòrimul*, and *pathanmul*. One leaf of each kind is taken and the leaves pounded together and used in the same way as the shoots of *muli* or the bark of the *tudr* tree, water being dropped from them into leaves of *puthimul*. The pounded leaves are then placed in the back hair as usual. This is followed by the ceremony of drinking water three times out of a leaf containing water and some buffalo-dung. The bark of the *tudr* tree is then rubbed all over the body, though no *tudr* leaves are used for drinking. The candidate attains his full office by touching a *mu*, prostrates himself at his dairy, enters and begins his work as in the dairies of a lower grade.

THE KALTMOKH

The ordination of the *kaltmokh* begins either on Sunday, Wednesday or Thursday. In the case of a *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the first part of the ceremony takes place at the village of Nòdrs, while in some cases it seems that the candidate may go to the same village of Òdr which is visited by the *palol* during his ordination. I have no information about the place of ordination in the case of the other *ti* dairies.

A boy who is to become *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* goes to Nòdrs either on Sunday, Wednesday, or Thursday, and, going to the ordinary dairy of that place (*tarvali*), he is given water by the *palikartmokh* in the vessel called *pòlmachok*. The boy washes his hands with this water and puts on a *tuni* which the *palikartmokh* gives him, after saying the same formula as in the ordination of *wursol*. He then does *muliniròditi* and so reaches the grade of *palikartmokh*. This and the following ceremony are done at a special stream at Nòdrs called *niròdigudr*. The purification ceremony is then performed with *tudr* bark and leaves till the candidate has drunk seven times seven. Food and buttermilk are given by the *palikartmokh*, and then the boy together with the

---

[1] This is the ordinary *muli* used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*.

234 *palikartmokh* and the *wursol* of Nòdrs pass the night in the wood near that place.

793

The next morning the candidate goes to the ordination stream and washes himself from head to foot. This is called *tudraspipini*, its object being the same as in the ordination of the *wursol*. The boy next goes to the front of the *tarvali*, where the *palikartmokh* gives him a special string made of *twadrinar*, which he puts round his waist as *kerk*, and then warms himself at a fire of *muli* wood. The *palikartmokh* brings a *mu*, which the candidate touches with the same formalities as in the ordination of *wursol*, and by so doing reaches the grade called *perkursol*, which is of the same rank as that of *wursol*. The *perkursol* then takes the *mu* into the *tarvali*, prostrating himself at the threshold before entering. He prostrates himself to the *patatmar* and to the *ertatmar*, puts the *mu* on the *patatmar* and comes out. He then goes to the *poh*, or conical dairy of Nòdrs, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and prostrates himself before *patatmar*, *ertatmar* and, finally, before the *mani*. Up to the point of saluting the bell in this way he keeps on the *tuni* but at this stage he throws it down and comes out of the dairy naked (except for the *kuvn*), puts on the ordinary cloak and goes to the dairy at which the *ti* buffaloes are standing.

When he reaches the *ti mad*, the candidate goes to the *palol*, whom he salutes with the words "*Ír kar ûdâ*," this salutation being called *pirwadrikpini*. He goes to the sleeping hut, prostrates himself before the horns which are kept in this building, and then goes to the front of the dairy. He is now *perkursol*, and in order that he shall become full *kaltmokh* or *tunitusthkaltmokh*, the *palol* gives him a piece of *tuni* (*petuni*). The boy asks three times, "*Tunitusthvaskina?*"—"Shall I go to wash the *tuni?*"—to which the *palol* answers each time "*Tusthva!*"—"Wash, go!" The boy takes the *petuni* to the stream for ordinary use (not the *kwoinir*) and bathes from head to foot. He puts to himself three times the question, "*tunitoikina?*" and laying the piece of *tuni* on a stone, he pours water on it three times and returns with the *petuni* in his hand to the *palol*, who will be sitting on his

pohvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, 234x
"*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the 793 ●
tuni?"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni*." Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasthvatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kaltmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaizhvatiti*) for the *palol*.

The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kaltmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kaltmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kaltmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnudr*.

THE ORDINATION OF THE PALOL

234x

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the 184
highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we 793
find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office 463
are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades. 618

In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

THE TESHERST CEREMONY

234x
261
●793
796
887

This qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* is always performed by a number of men at the same time. The number taking part must be three, five, seven or nine. There seemed to be no doubt that it was not permissible for four, six or eight men to perform the ceremony together. One or two Todas told me that an even number of men might do the ceremony, but all the more trustworthy witnesses were agreed that there must be an uneven number, and on all the occasions of which I could obtain records of actual ceremonies, an uneven number of men had done *tesherst* together. The ceremony may not be performed while the funeral ceremonies of any Teivali person are uncompleted.

At the time of my visit there were only nine or ten men who had been through the *tesherst* ceremony, including those who were holding or had held the office of *palol*. It was proposed that a number of the younger men should perform the ceremony about this time, but it had to be delayed till the second funeral ceremonies of two Teivali women had been held.

The *tesherst* ceremony always begins on a Monday after the new moon. It takes place at certain villages where people are living, and in all the cases of which I obtained records it had been done at Kudrnakhum, belonging to the Nòdrsol, or at Pushtar, belonging to the Taradrol. People must be living at the village at the time the ceremony is performed.

The candidates go to the village on Monday evening, accompanied by two or three Nòdrs men. All go to a stream by a wood and the ceremony begins after sunset, when all the candidates throw off their cloaks and stand in a row. A man of the Nòdrs clan has a *tuni* in his hand and each candidate asks three times, "*Tunivatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tuni*?"—and each time the Nòdrs man replies, "*Tunivat!*" The first man in the row touches the *tuni* and then the others in order. The Nòdrs man then gives the *tuni* to the first man who touched it, and he tears it into as many pieces

as there are candidates, giving a piece to each man, who puts 234x
it in the string of his *kuvn*. All then go in search of the 261
leaves of *muli* and each plucks seven leaves and seven shoots.
They go to the stream, one by one, and each drinks and rubs 793●
himself with the shoots seven times, as in the ordination 796
ceremony, and puts the shoots in his back hair.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs man will have made 887
fire by friction, using the wood of *muli*, and the men warm themselves at the fire. Each man then goes in search of seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark and carries out the usual purification ceremony once only, drinking out of each of the seven leaves, after which the men take food prepared by another of the Nòdrs men, and all pass the night in the wood. Next morning the men fetch *tudr* bark and leaves and repeat the drinking and rubbing ceremony of the previous evening, but on this occasion each man says "*Teshniròdinem*," as he throws the leaf over his head after drinking. All then bathe completely in the stream.

While they are doing this, the Nòdrs men have been cooking a large amount of food, more than the candidates can readily eat, and an old woman of the Tartharol who is to take part in the ceremony has bathed and dressed in her best clothes and put on all the ornaments she can procure: gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, and rings. When the men have bathed, they wait till the message comes that the food is ready, and then each man takes off his piece of *tuni* and his *pennar* and his *kuvn*, so that he is completely naked. The Nòdrs man portions out the food and puts it on *tudr* leaves, the portion for each man being more than he can possibly eat at one sitting, and the portions of food are given to the old woman, who sits down with her back to the men. Each man goes up behind the back of the old woman, and she gives him his portion of food by putting her hand behind her back so that she does not look at him, and in doing so she says three times "*Teshtòrtudenk?*"—"*Tesh* food have I not given?" The men take the food, go into the thickest part of the wood and eat it. None of the food prepared on this occasion may be eaten by the Nòdrs men or by the old woman, but though the amount is excessive, the whole of it must be eaten by the

234x
261
793
796
887

candidates during the day. After each man has eaten to the full he may put on his cloak. The Nòdrs men and the old woman go back to their villages and they must hold no communication of any kind with the candidates after the food has been given. The men remain in the wood all day, and when it is getting dark they go to the nearest village at which any of them live, taking care that no one sees them on the way.

One of the most remarkable features of this ceremony is the part taken by the old woman. She must be one of the Tartharol; she must be past the age of child-bearing, and she must never have had intercourse with one of her own clan. In the last particular the word of the woman is trusted, for it was said that she would never deceive in such a matter. Every woman believed that if she did not speak the truth she would die, and all those concerned in the ceremony would either die or have serious illness. I was told that it was by no means easy to find a woman who fulfilled this requirement, and in each of the cases of which I have records the same woman officiated—viz. Naspilthi of Taradr (21).

Other remarkable features of this ceremony are that the men should be given more food than they are readily able to eat, as in the ceremony connected with the *kaltmokh* after the migration (p. 139), and that they receive this food in a condition of complete nudity, a condition which only occurs in one other dairy ceremonial.

The *tesherst* ceremony is one in which candidates for the office of *palol* go through certain of the rites which ordinarily form part of the process of ordination, with the addition of special ceremonies, in which a superabundant portion of food is given by a woman who fulfils certain peculiar conditions.

When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the clan to which the *ti* belongs chooses from among those who have been through the *tesherst* ceremony, and the chosen man has then to undergo the ordination ceremonies proper, or *niròditi*.

THE NIRODITI CEREMONY

234x
793 ●

The ceremony begins on a Saturday evening, after the new moon, when the chosen candidate goes to a village of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs and sleeps there in the ordinary hut.

On the following morning he goes before daybreak to the front of the dairy of the village, naked except for his *kuvn*, and a man of the village stands at the door of the dairy holding a *tuni* in his hand, and says three times, "*Tunivatkia!*"—"Touch the *tuni!*" The candidate answers, "*Tunivatkin*," and takes the *tuni*. If the garment is a complete one, he puts it on; if only a piece, he puts it in his *pennar*, and taking seven *tudr* leaves and *tudr* bark he goes to the stream of the dairy and performs the usual drinking and rubbing ceremony, and after putting the *tudr* bark in his hair, goes a little way off and shakes his head so that the bark falls out. He repeats the ceremony twice, so that it is performed three times altogether—*i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three times seven. This ceremony is called *teshnir*, and is done in view of the inhabitants of the village. The candidate stays for the rest of the day at the village. If there is a *wursol* there, the food of the candidate is prepared by this dairyman[1]; if no *wursol* is present, it is prepared by the *palikartmokh*. The food is grain boiled in milk, and is only eaten in the evening. The candidate sleeps that night in a wood near the village, but not the same wood as that by the stream where *teshnir* had been done. Either the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh* must pass the night in the wood with the candidate, and other men of the village may also be their companions. Until the candidate lies down to sleep he must remain naked (except for the *kuvn*), but when sleeping he may cover himself with his ordinary cloak.

Next morning (Monday) the candidate gets up at sunrise, lays aside his cloak, and goes to bathe completely in the stream, saying three times, "*Tudraspinem*,"[1]—"*Tudr* I have washed," thus washing off the *tudr* of the previous day. He then returns to the place where he had slept, puts on his ordinary cloak with the right arm out, and goes to the front of the dairy. He is given food by the *wursol*, or, in his absence, by the *palikartmokh*, and eats it outside the dairy, after which he washes. He then goes to the ordinary stream of the village (*ars nipa*) and takes up water with his hand, and by so doing he becomes *perol*—*i.e.*, he loses any sanctity he has acquired by the ceremony of the previous day.

---

[1] This is inconsistent with the statement made on p. 73 that the *wursol* never prepares food except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. It is possible that the food is only given to the candidate by the *wursol* and is not prepared by him.

The candidate then goes direct to the village of Òdr and stays near that village till the evening, when he makes his way to the front of the dairy of that place. He stands about ten yards from the dairy and throws off his cloak. A man of the clan to which his future *ti* belongs now gives him a complete *tuni* of the kind worn in the village dairy (a *mad tuni*, not a *ti tuni*), saying three times, "*Tunivatkia*," to which is replied "*Tunivatkin*." The man who gives the *tuni* now remains as assistant and companion till the candidate reaches his future dairy. The candidate puts the *tuni* round his loins, goes to the stream of the dairy, and performs the drinking and rubbing ceremony with *muli* leaves and shoots as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*. The assistant makes fire by friction and lights a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself.

The drinking ceremony with *tudr* is then carried out in the same way as at *teshnir*, and then the *wursol* of Òdr brings buttermilk in an *ertatpun* and gives it in cups of *kakud* leaves to both the candidate and his assistant. They also receive food from the *wursol*, while any other men present go to the ordinary hut for their meal. That night is passed at a special spot under a tree not far from the dairy at Òdr, the *wursol* and assistant being the companions of the candidate. On that night the candidate may not touch his ordinary cloak and has to be content with the scanty covering of the *tuni*.[1]

---

[1] This has not the same form as the word uttered by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* in the corresponding ceremony. In some cases different verbal forms are used at the *ti*, and this may be an instance.

On the next day (Tuesday), the ceremony with *tudr* leaves and bark is repeated three times as on the previous days, and after the *wursol* has finished his dairy work he gives buttermilk and food to both the candidate and his assistant. On the afternoon of this day the *tudr* ceremony is performed again, but on this occasion seven times, so that the candidate drinks from the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. In the evening buttermilk and food are again given by the *wursol* and the three men pass the night in the wood.

On the next day (Wednesday) the candidate fetches bark of the tree from which the material called *twadrinar* is made and makes for his temporary use a rough *kuvn*. When it is ready, he bathes in the dairy stream, takes off the old *pennar* and *kuvn* and puts on the newly made garment, together with the *tuni*, and goes with the *wursol* to the dairy where the buffaloes of his *ti* are standing. When they approach the *ti mad* the *wursol* goes away and leaves the candidate to go to the dairy alone, where he sits on the outskirts (*pül*) of the *ti mad*. When the *kaltmokh* sees the candidate approaching, he collects the buffaloes at the milking place (*pepkarmus*) and catches hold of the tails of certain buffaloes which are to be taken in charge by the new *palol*, saying to himself three times for each buffalo, "*Tover vatkina?*"—"Tail shall I hold?"—and replying to himself each time, "*Vat!*" At the Nòdrs *ti* if the candidate is to be *palol* of the *tiir*, the *kaltmokh* holds the tails of three buffaloes, one of each kind; if he is to be *palol* of the *warsir*, two buffaloes only take part (see p. 112). After this the *kaltmokh* prepares food in the *pül* of the dairy and gives it to the *palol* designate. While the *kaltmokh* is attending to the new *palol* he must become a *perkursol*—*i.e.*, he degrades himself to this rank before undertaking these duties. During the night the candidate together with the *kaltmokh* and the other *palol* already in office

---

[1] It has been stated by Harkness, Marshall and others that when the *palol* is entering on his office he has to sleep in the wood completely naked. This is not strictly correct, though the covering afforded by the *tuni* is so meagre that the statement is almost justified.

234x (if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

793 The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *püil*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

234x On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office.
793 In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary
pennar and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by
292 others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then
783 brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called
pòdrshtuni, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It
796 is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pùkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pùkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

000 At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

At some time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the 234x
tu. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the 574
kaltmokh, and as in this case it seemed to be the special
indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my 793●
notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the 796
tasth is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished.

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*,
nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the [292]
end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called
kubuntuni is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the
usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will
have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will
have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited
by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and
there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and [576]
sit in the *pül* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also
receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first
time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol
first, saying "*Bañ*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol,
saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner.

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very 234x
prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in 793
which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity.

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *muliniròditi* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh* performs the tail-holding ceremony and the candidate sleeps in the hut. On the four next days the *tudr* ceremony is performed three times seven in the mornings and nine times seven in the afternoons, and the calf-house is used as a sleeping-place. On the following Monday the *palol* enters upon office, assuming the *pòdrshtuni*, touching a *tasth*, and entering his dairy.

The foregoing description of the ordination of the *palol* applies primarily to the Nòdrs *ti*, but in its main details it holds good for other places.

I am doubtful as to the part taken by the village of Òdr, and am not clear whether part of the ordination ceremony is performed at this place by every *palol* or only by those of the Nòdrs *ti*. It is possible that it is only the latter who visit the village, but I do not know of any corresponding village visited by the candidates for the post of *palol* at other *ti* dairies. My impression is that every candidate for the office of *palol* visits this village.

The only definite modification of the ceremonies attendant on entrance into office of which I know occurs at the Kars *ti*. Here the *palol* is first ordained to the *parsir*—*i.e.*, he becomes the *palol* of this herd of buffaloes and tends them only. At the end of a month he becomes *palol* of the *pürsir*, and the ceremony of entrance upon this office was spoken of as *pelkkatthtiti* to the *pürspoh*. In this case the ceremony of ordination to the *parspoh* is called *niròditi*, and that of removal to another dairy *pelkkatthtiti*.

On the afternoon of the appointed day the *palol* churns the milk of the morning in the *parspoh* and then shuts the door of this dairy, which he never re-enters as long as he is in office. He could only do so if he should cease to be *palol* and be reordained to the same *ti*.

A new *pòdrshtuni* is brought by a Badaga and is assumed by the *palol* after purification in the usual manner. At the same time he puts on a new *kagurs*,[1] which has been purified by the *kaltmokh*, who has also cut a new *kwoinörtpet* on the hill of Kulinkars which the *palol* then purifies with *tudr* bark in the usual manner, saying the names of the four deities, Anto, Nòtirzi, Kulinkars, and Kuzkarv.

---

[1] The *ti* name of the *kuvn*.

234x
793●

The *palol* then digs up earth from the footprints of one of the *pürsir*, saying the whole prayer of the *ti* as he does so. He drives the buffalo slightly to one side by touching it with the wand, and takes earth from the exact place where the foot of the buffalo had been resting and puts the earth into a cup which he has made of *tudr* leaves. He adds pounded *tudr* bark and goes to the spring (*kwoinir*) of the dairy, where he mixes water with the earth and bark. He then goes to the stone called *pepkusthkars*, where he has previously laid a complete set of new dairy vessels and implements of the inner room, together with the lamp and the bell (Ner) of the *pürspolk*. The bell is laid on the stone, the other things by its side.

Wearing the *pòdrshtuni* and holding the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm, the *palol* sprinkles the contents of the leaf-cup over the dairy vessels and other objects, beginning with the bell, and as he does so he prays, using the whole prayer of the dairy. He then ties all the vessels and other contents of the dairy on a staff called *pepkati* in exactly the same manner as when taking them from one *ti mad* to another. The bell is tied up in a leafy covering of *kiaz* and everything is done as in the migration from one place to another, and the staff with its burden is then borne by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the stone called *perskars*, by the side of which the dairy vessels are laid, while the *mani* is uncovered and laid on the stone. The staff is then placed at the back of the dairy.

Having untied the dairy vessels and arranged them by the stone, the *palol* pounds fresh *tudr* bark, and with the *kwoinörtpet* under his left arm goes with the *karitòrzum* to the sacred spring, into which he throws the bark, takes water, and returns. Taking more pounded bark, he puts it in the *idrkwoi* and pours water into this vessel from the *karitòrzum*. He takes the *idrkwoi* with its contents to the front of the dairy, and with his right hand sprinkles the water over the outside of the dairy and then into its interior till the vessel is emptied. The dairy vessels are not again purified, but are taken into the dairy with the same procedure as that described in the last chapter. The vessels of the outer room, which have been purified by the *kaltmokh*, are then taken to their places. Fire is made by friction; one fireplace is lighted

234x and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is
793 lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out
to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies
184 is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of
783 a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The
778 ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli;* the
788 dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark,
793 while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tastk*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination 234K
at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that 184
this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had
been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy. 783

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies 778
is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through 788
the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both 793
wursol and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*,
which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*.
There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

234 778 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

788 784 793 The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 292 793 178 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the most important feature here is the use of the garments called *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.

The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth 234
of the same kind, called *än*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the
funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing 292
of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly 793
the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial 178
in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual.

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is 234
another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the 778
tarvali it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali*
it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses 788
tudr in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*.

---

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

754 is probable that this knowledge is transmitted from one old
756 person to any other who may be likely to inspire confidence.
[562] It will be noted that a woman can practise the magical
remedies of the *utkòren*, but I do not know whether this is a recent innovation. It seems clear that a woman could never become one of the *pilikòren* or sorcerers.

781 When discussing the formulæ of the dairy ritual, it was
mentioned that one difficulty in the way of regarding these
192 formulæ as prayers is that the names of deities are not
234 uttered in the vocative form, and that this might be held to
754 negative the idea that they involve supplication to higher
powers. In the magical formulæ there seems to be a clearer case for the presence of a distinct address to deities, though it is doubtful whether this address is of a supplicative or compelling character. If there is a distinct address in the case of the magical formulæ, which every Toda would acknowledge to be used for an evil end, it is very probable that the words of the dairy formulæ also involve the idea of an address to deities. These formulæ are always directed to avert evils from and to call down blessings on the buffaloes, and it seems almost certain that for this good end the words imply not only an address to the powers of the gods, but also one of a supplicative rather than of a compelling character.

One distinction between the formulæ ~~of the dairy~~ and those of the sorcerer may be pointed out. In the latter the names of the gods are those used in ordinary conversation, *i.e.*, Teikirzi, Tirshti, and are not the *kwarzam*, *i.e.*, *Ekirzam meidjam*.

771 One of the most interesting features of this chapter has
788 been the clear evidence given in the formulæ of the close
relation existing between magic and religion among the
754 Todas. The formulæ of magic and of the dairy ritual are of
793 the same nature, though the differentiation between the sorcerer
and the priest who use them is even clearer than that between the sorcerer and the medicine-man. It is probable that the names of the gods with the characteristic formulæ of the prayer are later additions to the magical incantation; that at some time the sorcerer has added the names of the most important of his deities to the spells and charms which at one

time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also 771
possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell 788
points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer 754
were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which 793
hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it
became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions,
and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of
function, though the means used continue to show a close
resemblance.

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meet- 787
ing certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The 925
most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird 778
called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If 177
a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the
left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the
right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice
in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the
last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left
to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting
the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who
is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole
incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends,
and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the
Badagas or other Hindus.

782 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October.
796 Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at
the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever
the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[278] The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the
ernkar, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a
[793] Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary
village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over
small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will
be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

[1] [The sacrifice of a young male calf-- the Erkumptehpimi Ceremony--Analyst]

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice
of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

● [793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at K̇uudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the
buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nȯdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his
764 office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*,
wursol, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he
793 can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the 765
last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*. 783

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 793
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 765
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following 778
the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

234 second funeral, and it is at Òdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
763 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment
778 of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy
vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdrvusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nòdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral 764
are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred 234
buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they 782
would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, 775
have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly 764
in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind 234
of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his
office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals 793 ●
the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the 778
sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kòdtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of 764
men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used 234
in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 793

---

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

764 called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring
234 the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the reli-
793 gious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand,
even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut,
the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral
ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a
dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no
duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work
as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the
wursol, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

764 The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because
it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown
171 three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion
174 with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage,
in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned
that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed
at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,[1] who
bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased
takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he
fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place
fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes
full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the
earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive
resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two
hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to
the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a
relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

764 It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that
174 the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen,
but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever
done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless,
indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case
the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

---

[1] See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
788 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the
788 *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross 778
the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the
rank of *perkursol*. 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be 788
crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi 823
is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village 778
is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as 621
sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have
some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a 788
clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue
to be treated with some degree of reverence.

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village, 776 778 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 793 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 776 793 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Ön, but to whatever extent Ön may have passed on his divine character to 174
his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present 776
the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have 793
been ascribed to him.

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, 776
according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol.

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions 776
between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or 782
a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed.

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
292 tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kodrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 13.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
574 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
234 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas
793 belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli*
dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while 184
holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be
touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by 616
his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an 793
ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, 184
the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices 554
does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very strik- 198
ing point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the 616
Tartharol that there were certain differences in language
between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain 554
words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

CHAP. XII.

action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen
771 to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see,
776 confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

773 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to
782 any personal God, of whose attributes or power they enter-
778 tain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually
776 no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

---

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

CHAPTER XIV.

TIRIÊRI PRIESTS.

The Pâlâl—The Kâvilâl—The Pâlâl is a God—The Peiki Clan termed 'Sons of God'—Duties of the Pâlâl—No mysteries—Sacred nature of Priests—The Pâlâl becomes man again—Purification for holy orders—The Tûde tree; its botanical name and distribution—The use of the Tûde, an ancient practice—The Pâlâl enters on his duties.

CHAP. XIV.

EACH tiriêri, with its drove of cattle, is in the charge of an ascetic milkman or priest, styled pâlâl,[1] and an equally ascetic, though not equally holy, herdsman or kâvilâl.[2] And according as the herd may be small or large, there are found from one to two of the former, and from one to three of the latter, attached to the tiriêris.

234
463
793 ●

The pâlâl, whose personal acquaintance I had made in the course of taking information on the interesting subject of the bell-god, was a man of about thirty-five years of age, who had spent some fifteen of them in holy orders, vacating his post in favour of a brother. The effect of that lengthy period of ascetic and solitary life on his personal appearance, was somewhat striking. It was perhaps *de rigueur* for one who had so long been in sacred office to wear his hair dishevelled, and to neglect the cleanliness of his person: but the more than usually motionless eyebrow, the gloomy solemnity of his look and his

793
124

---

[1] Pâlâl, pâl, is the Drâvidian word for *milk*; âl = *person.*

[2] Kâvilâl, kâval = *guard*; âl = *person.*
The former is a Turkish word. Yet kâ is the Drâvidian root for *protect, guard.* In Tamil we have a kind of reduplication of it; thus, pâtu kâ. The Sanskrit corresponding root is pâ. [POPE.]

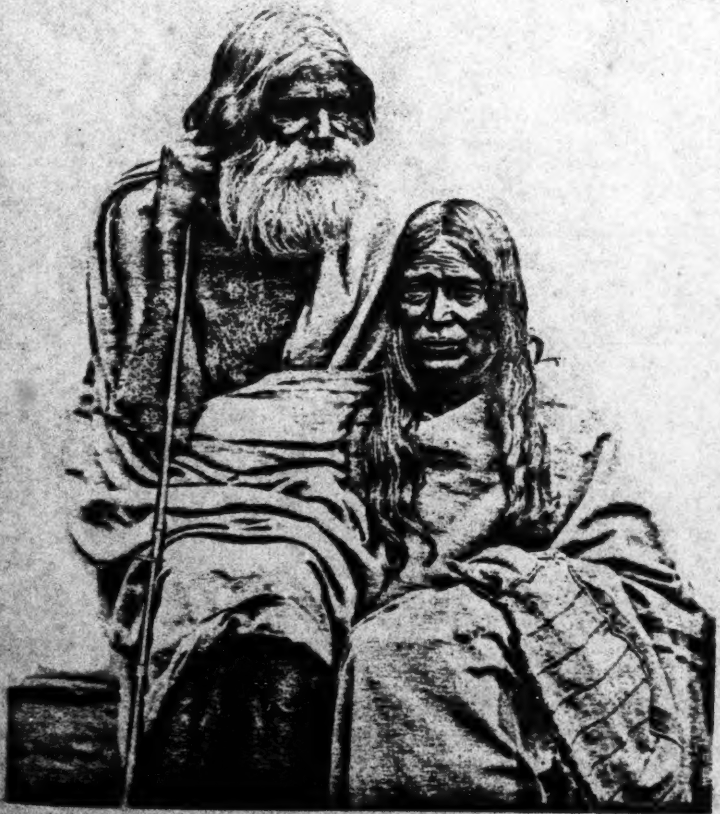
2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

N° 16

Opp. p. 136

142

793 ●



AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

ADAM AND EVE

ÂL-ĀD-ÂD'M-MAN. AVV-MOTHER.

OF THE PEIKI CLAN – DÊR MOKH OR SONS OF GOD.

GENESIS VI. 2.

IAP.
IV.

fixed wooden face, were not the results of fashion, but the action
of a second nature that had been moulding him for years.

793 But bread and sugar hath its charms. Under its influence,
124 he softened out and became affable. Waiting till he had
finished the meal I had given him, the first of a series of
questions suitable to an *ex*-pâlâl, was put. 'Is it true that
Todas salute the sun?' I asked: 'tschâkh!' he replied,
'those poor fellows do so, but me,' tapping his chest, 'I, a
God! why should I salute the sun?' At the time, I thought
this a mere ebullition of vanity and pride, but I have since had
opportunity of testing the truth of his speech. The pâlâl for
the time being is not merely the casket containing divine
attributes, but *is himself a God*.

463 Let me here describe the duties of the pâlâls and the mode
554 of their ordination. These holy men, who must invariably be
793 selected from the Peiki clan—the members of which style
themselves Dêr mokh, or children or sons of God or of the
Gods—are not in any way educated to their office; nor by
mature age, superior talent, wealth, or other form of influence,
are they of themselves worthy of unusual respect. They are
just ordinary ignorant villagers, with sufficient shrewdness or
impecuniosity, to note in the lonely post, certain very material
advantages, combined with those of a more ethical nature,
sufficient to compensate for the monotonous duties and isolation of the life.

210 No Toda being able either to read or write, and each pâlâl
788 being as absolutely ignorant as the last, and as his own successor
793 will be, it is quite clear there can be no dogmas of an abstruse
nature, and none but the most simple rites to transmit at time
of relief.

000 The universally defective size in the organs of Caution and
Secretiveness observable in the tribe, produces an open nature
of disposition, such as renders it almost impossible to conceive
234 the existence of any very mystic rites among them. What-
788 ever is done in these tiriêris, is known to every intelligent

CHAP. XIV.

234 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have
hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from
the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely
on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe
or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to
be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail
of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwith-
standing, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and
traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain
degree of change in the course of generations. How can
there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

785 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no
one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and
servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is
defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore
keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five
yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri
or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before
him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name,
being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be
found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and
privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple
process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

CHAP. XIV.

through life, amongst his fellow-men, a large amount of respect, as having once been a God.

554

783 The following description of the process, which *all* men undergo in the course of being sanctified to the performance of any holy duty, will prove interesting.

783 For the space of a week—ettnâl; literally speaking, eight

793 days, and corresponding to *in acht tagen* in German—the novitiate must remain day and night alone in the woods of the tiriêri, without a particle of clothing and with only a fire to protect him from the severity of the climate. He beats with a stone, the bark off a branch of the tûde[3] tree, which he collects. Then three times each day, morning, noon, and evening, he performs the following ceremony. Squeezing some of the juice of the bark, into a leaf-cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupfull with the right hand to his forehead, in token of respect: then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder, then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next, he takes the remainder of the bark, and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately in the fresh water. On the eighth day he is competent to assume charge of his office.

The week's ordeal has been extremely severe, both in point of exposure and of solitude, and one well calculated to make a suitable impression on a man who is about to undertake a solemn duty. The kâvilâl has supplied him with food from the tiriêri all this time, and there is reason for believing that the pâlâl and kâvilâl see that the novitiate does not slur the proper performance of the rites.

The Todas have no distinctive word to express purification but describe the effect by saying sari[4] uddi, 'he is right,' by the process.

---

[3] Tûde, tûva, dûdru, tûr|u—*a thicket of small shrubs.* Tamil. [Pope.]

[4] Sari. In Dravidian çari—*right.* [Pope.]

CHAP. XIV.

000
784
793

of India, utilise this plant, whose picture is given in photograph No. 15.

The tûde is not used for any other rite or for any other purpose than the purification of candidates for holy orders.

When the aspirant has thus prepared himself for the performance of the most sacred duties a Toda has any conception of, he proceeds to the tiriêri close by, where the pâlâl whom he is about to relieve, awaits his arrival. I was told by my Toda friend, that he enters on his new avocations without further ceremony. Simply, the sacred relics and the bell-cows are pointed out to him, and his duties explained.

CHAPTER XV.

PRIESTLY DUTIES.

Pâlâl's daily routine—Salutes the sacred Herd—Milks the Cattle—Libations to the Bell-gods—Names of Toda Gods—Does the conception of invisible Gods arise from deficient organ of Form?—Todas revere Light, not Fire—Who is the Kâvilâl?—Pâlâl demonstrates that he is never touched—Milk held in religious regard—Pâlâl collects Kûtu for his Mand.

CHAP. XV.

234
788
793

THE daily routine of the pâlâl's mysterious office was described to me nearly in the following words. 'On rising in the morning, I wash face, hands, and teeth, with the left hand.' In daily human life he had invariably used the right hand for this purpose; such being the custom with all Orientals certainly, who, eating with their fingers, find it necessary to reserve the right hand for that especial object. But remember the pâlâl is now a God, and to the pure all things are pure—fact!'

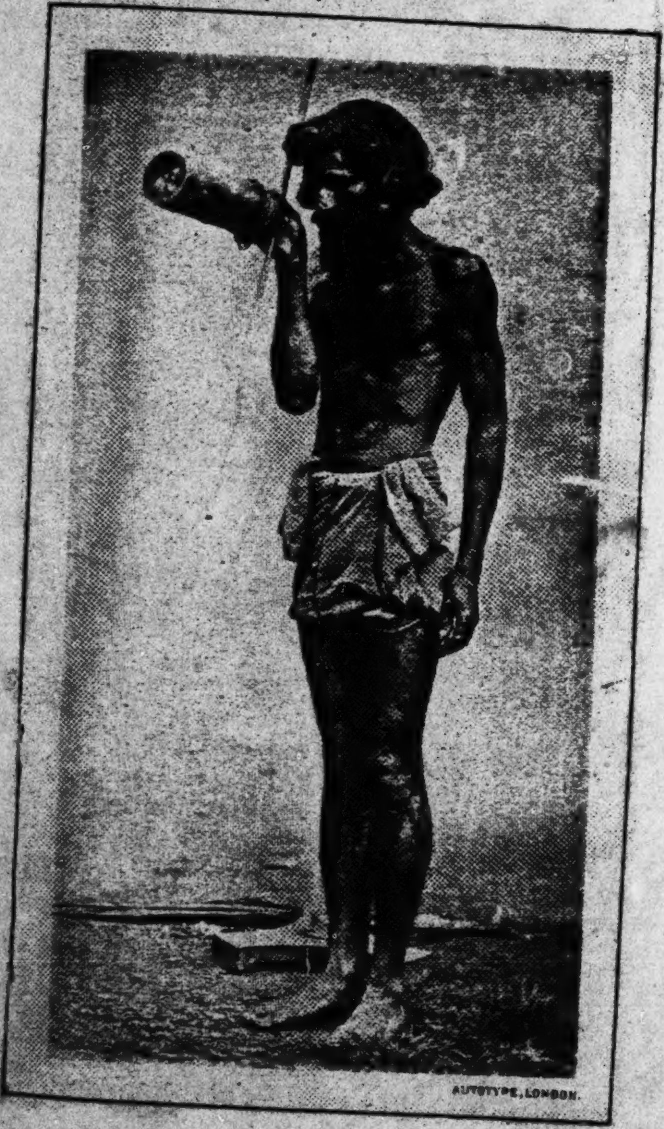
'Then entering the inner room—ulg ârsh—of the house,' which is reserved for dairy purposes, the outer room—porram âlg ârsh—being the pâlâl's sleeping apartment, 'I make a leaf-lamp, into which I put clarified butter and 5 wicks, thus,' spreading out his fingers. I could not ascertain if the number 5 is essential, but it appeared to me to be so. 'The lamp is put into a niche in the wall, opposite the bells, which hang on the separate prongs of a stick thrust into the thatch of the roof. And I light in silence, nor salute either light—belak—or relics—maṇi.'

'Having taken up my wand and honnu or milk-pail, which

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 142

142
788
793 ●



AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

THE PÂLÂL SALUTES THE SACRED CATTLE.

is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn
234 towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them
788 by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu
793 hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

778 'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the
788 bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a
793 little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops
776 on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

---

[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
793 not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They
are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? Was the faculty small with the Jews also?

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The
last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
793 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the
kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy.
They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the
tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply
was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the
adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what
follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

798 Curious to form an opinion as to whether in the unheeded seclusion of their sanctuary, these recluses preserved themselves as untainted by contact with man as I had been told, I ventured to express to the pâlâl a doubt as to the possibility of his giving his servant daily food, and of selling the produce of his dairy, without touching anyone. He at once said he would show me.

He asked for three somethings—anythings: looked up to the trees for suitable leaves. What does the gentleman drink from? I gave him three tumblers, with the bright and sparkling appearance of which he appeared gratified: something worthy of the subject. Much pleased: now he could show: couldn't he just show? Sitting himself with one glass in hand, on a low wall, to represent the tûar of the tiriêri, on which he pictured himself squatting as he had so often done during the last fifteen years, he placed the second glass on the ground immediately below him, near which a Toda companion, impersonating the kâvilâl, stood waiting. Another Toda was sent to a distance to act the part of a purchaser with a third glass, which having set on the ground, he retired a few paces. Now feigning, the pâlâl poured his nei from the first to the second tumbler, which the kâvilâl then carried off, pouring its contents into the third tumbler. As the kâvilâl stepped back with the money which he picked up off the ground, the purchaser came forward and took away the glass full of nei. 'See,' he said, 'am I not paid for my nei without being touched?'

This impromptu pantomime was acted with so much justice and gravity, and all three men, though not pâlâls, understood their several parts so thoroughly, I could no longer doubt that 000 the persons of these holy men were inviolable. I obtained also a glimpse—the truth of which further observation has tended to confirm—how the rites and ceremonies of an unlettered race may be transmitted almost unchanged from generation to generation. Publicity, combined with the

CHAP. XV.

000

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as unchangeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, 272
regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the 778
honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never
be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; 234
indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, 234
who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, 437
and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity pro- 793
bably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl,
over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the 556
sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasion- 177
ally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through 793
influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great
sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands 754
for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri 692
as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

778 Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 773 778 234 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us. Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are approaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline, and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!' shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[*] had come up to about [481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

---

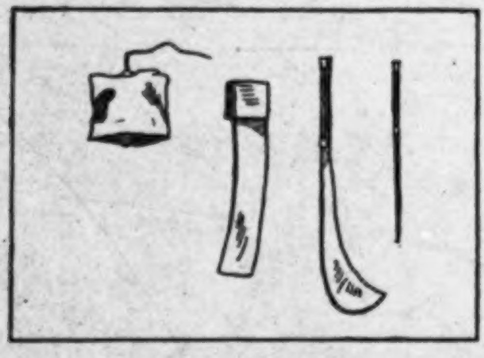
[*] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'! CHAP. XVI. 778

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before. 124 778 773

No. 19.



RELIC GODS—MANI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

> . . . . Of thee
> Therefore entreat I, *Father*, to declare
> If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
> Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.
> DANTE, *Paradiso.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

CHAP. XVI.

longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we
124 threw some money to the pâlâls.

778 'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have
● 783 paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÊTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pâlthchi—Duties of the Pâlkarpâl—Important difference in the duties of the Pâlâl and Pâlkarpâl—The Tarvâl—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Êtud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term it Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

CHAP. XVII.

234
463
793

THE customs and ceremonies of the tiriêri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pâlthchi.

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as pâlâls for the care of the tiriêri, assisted by their kâvilâls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pâlkarpâl,[1] who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshâl.[2] Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

234
793
618

I state that the pâlkarpâl is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peiikis permit the

---

[1] Pâlkarpâl. See note 4 of Chapter VI.

[2] See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

CHAP. XVII.

unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages,
to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan.
234 Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan,
793 the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a
618 Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle,
621 and to store and partition amongst the various families of the
Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has
made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the
reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be,
the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone pene-
trate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely
enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are
[562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex
are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance
of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may
not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very
793 similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differ-
788 ences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the
part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also
Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods:
whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the
service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

---

[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

CHAP. XVII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an ètud Mand, the relics
within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble
servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, 234
as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety 793
do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each 778
relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini 788
I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[1] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch 234
of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge 778
perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will 554
describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something
more; that belonging to an ètud Mand. And there is the
most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tirièri;
the holy of holies, already described.

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the 234
dairy of an ètud Mand, but was always discovered when 343
seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore 342
of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand,
which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which
a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl
was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at
leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an
ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a
bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

---

[1] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master or superior.* The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god 234
—konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village 765
droves, never wear a bell.) 793

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest 764
superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the er-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral 183
obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as ad- 764
herence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I 765
have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own 775
mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old 178
and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards—commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara kêdu, before daybreak, the 765
mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which 775
the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

---

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

1 [The bara Kêdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

177 mands, and I cannot find that in a single instance has *gûdu* been claimed* for lands disposed of by Government.

421 Thus the rights of the Todas remain to the present day. They receive *gûdu* from
423 the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and the means of the culti-
651 vator, and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing *pattâs*, for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied.

They have an effective mode of extracting the *gûdu* from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badaga cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their mands and buffalo kraals,† and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned, and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the *gûdu* arises, the Todas, by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mand for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda buffaloes *kraaled* in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason.

793 There are five kinds of priests, who rank as follows:— Relig Rites Cere

234 I. *Pâlâls* (*Plate* XII.), who, according to the regular sequence of Toda ideas, are a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. They live at isolated mands called *Tiriaris*.

> "No female is allowed to go near the mand, nor can any man hold converse with
> " the Pâlaul without special permission, and then only at a considerable distance.
>
> * * * * *
>
> " Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Pâlaul in the eyes of his Toda brethren,
> " and he therefore exerts a powerful influence over their minds. They believe that
> " God dwells in him, and makes known His will through him to those who come to him
> " for counsel."‡

There are about nineteen *Tiriaris* occupied at certain periods of the year by five *Pâlâls*; two, whose head quarters are near Mukkurti Peak (*Plate* XII.), two near Nanjenâd, and one near Kodanâd. They have charge of sacred bells, which they carry from mand to mand. The *Pâlâls* must be Peikis; the *Tiriaris*, however, belong to certain Tarserzhâl mands, the inhabitants of which elect the *Pâlâls*, and furnish each with an attendant called a *Kavilâl*, who may be either a Peiki or Pekkan, and gets six rupees a year, his food, and a cloth, which however he may not wear when in immediate attendance on the *Pâlâl*.

The latter gets nothing but the milk of the sacred herd, which is kept for his use at the *Tiriari*; he holds office as long as he chooses, generally for three or four years. One is said to have been *Pâlâl* for fourteen years, but this is mentioned as something extraordinary.

---

* *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No. 4,740, 29 July 1868, and *Mr. Grant's* Letter of the 17th idem. "Provision was always made in the leases for payment of *gûdu*, and for a few years it was enforced. But " the amount did not exceed a few annas, and the Todas did not care to ask for it."

† *Kraal*, a circular enclosure, in which cattle are penned at night, surrounded by a rough stone wall.

‡ *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

● 793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pútkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the "exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in "some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without "a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is "at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the "botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed "off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted "to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pálâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peikis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali.* There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnāt mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli.* There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl.*

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peiki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

346 II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl.* Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl.*

234 There are four *Boas*:—

778 (1.) Called *Mânboa;* at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the left of the Segūr road.

346

---

* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, 262 except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This [462] consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, 231 though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds.* This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into 616 two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a 793 better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas,* whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees.* These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests [292] are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères.* The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

---

* *Physalis edulis,* a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 351 two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy 343 is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the [342] dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller [793] than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire- [354] place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the 417 mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular 233 enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand [422] possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by 487 Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by [562] women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, [234] the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to [562] go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

172 parts." Among the most interesting figures are those of heavily bearded men riding on horses, and big-horned buffaloes which might have been modelled from the Toda buffaloes of to-day, and, like these, at funerals and migration ceremonies, bear a bell round the neck.

234
193 Two forms of Toda dairy have so far been noticed. But there remains a third kind, called the ti mand, concerning which Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The ti is the name of an institution, which comprises a herd of buffaloes, with a number of dairies and grazing districts, tended by a dairy-man priest called palol, with an assistant called kaltmokh. Each dairy, with its accompanying buildings and pasturage, is called a ti mad, or ti village. The buffaloes belonging to a ti are of two kinds, distinguished as persiner and punir. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the ti dairy is concerned with their milk. The punir correspond in some respects to the putiir of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the palol, and are not treated with any special ceremony. During the whole time he holds office, the palol may not visit his home or any other ordinary village, though he may visit another ti village. Any business with the outside world is done either through the kaltmokh, or with people who come to visit him at the ti. If the palol has to cross a river, he may not pass by a bridge, but must use a ford, and it appears that he may only use certain fords. The palol must be celibate, and, if married, he must leave
[595] his wife, who is in most cases also the wife of his brother or brothers." I visited the ti mand near Paikâra by appointment, and, on arrival near the mand, found the two palols, well-built men aged about thirty and fifty, clad in black cloths, and two kaltmokhs, youths aged

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on 234
the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect 793
to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me [554]
arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban, removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses
of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, [783]
would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photo- [123]
graphing it. Eventually, however, under promise of a far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross 778
a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which 823
flows past the Paikâra bungalow is regarded as sacred by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the
wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not [843]
venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and, on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even when they walk over the Paikâra bridge, they take their
hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concern- 778
ing the origin of the Paikâra river, a grotesque legend 823
was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two 539
Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the

Tarthâl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a 564
Tarthâl woman visits at a Térthâl mand, she is permitted 574
to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter- [252]
milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Térthâl
women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion
a Térthâl woman, on a visit at a Tarthâl mand, folded up
a cloth, and placed it under her putkûli as if it was a baby.
When food was served, she asked for some for the child,
and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthâls,
not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to
degrade all Térthâl women. According to Dr. Rivers,
"the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the 564
division of the community into two perfectly distinct 621
groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dêvalyâl of
Breeks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of [193]
function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled
only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and 564
Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda 614
people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided
into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are
exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages,
and takes its name from the chief of these villages,
Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans,
the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes 881
through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man
of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid
specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me
on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikâra [123]
bungalow.

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by 595
the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas
have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the
institution of polyandry is still in full working order

At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes.
He puts on no cloth.
He places butter and ghi before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.
At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.
At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill.
The priest must not go in unto the woman.
He may not marry.
When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.
Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described in full detail by Dr. Rivers. 771 114 The Todas have been to some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring, etc. 771 177 788

794 234

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are töuno:ṛ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti: . There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not töuno:ṛ. Some munds also which have dairies are not töuno:ṛ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a töuno:ṛ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the töuno:ṛ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the töuno:ṛ, which are ɯtuɯḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a töuno:ṛ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the töuθɯṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation. 776 778 [342] [178] [793]

When a töuno:ṛ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the töuno:ṛ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a töuno:ṛ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn. [791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the töuθɯṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodchi, i. e. no·ṛo·ḍol–, means "(the deity, i. e. the töuθɯṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtuɯḍmoḍ or tóuno:ṛ) was created, as we have said, by a tóuθɯṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning. [614]

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state [602] [614] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's [684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however [793] [234] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

841 778 234 The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk [462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

---

[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] [1] See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

[361] [778] [776] [2] A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

[p. 82]

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exer- 841
cising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of 778
stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest 234
avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted
to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the [793]
week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the 764
word which denotes a dairy (poɬy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse 841
of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there 778
are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A [614]
menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɬy, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:ɽ was according to tradition 778
formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount 183
of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live 562
there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Like-
wise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside [841]
and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

---

[1] See Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (to- [113]
wards the bottom), 78 (middle).

[2] Rivers, pp. 339-40.

433

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is 511
quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of 234
the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is [793]
looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed
buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are [343]
known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity
varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the [346]
highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest [778]
tarvali (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and
there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali*
(for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding 234
dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk 793
the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, [788]
which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called
kwarshm. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking
priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-
temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali*
and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*.
These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour
and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black [292]
cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has
to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive
perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold
and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and 616
women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous 104
moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I 114
am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of
W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the
manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this
chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of
The Todas writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in
keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of
Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, 616
and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what 554
follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which
is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later
arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by
the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they
616 take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a
palol occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked
upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but
definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages)
called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal
descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of
polkhliol (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what
concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups.
[582] They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will
go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe
side of this interdiction.

The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies
[114] considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for
an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own
publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified
according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:
554
564

modols	*polkhliols*
1. **Karsh**	1. **Pirsh or Nör**
2. **Norsh**	2. **Kwoten-Pöldh**
3. **Tarar**	3. **Öntö**
4. **Mörorl or Pan**	4. **Kon**
5. **Kiaror**	5. **Pütth**
6. **Nirkh**	
7. **Konnorj**	
8. **Unkiti**	
9. **Kwordhoni**	

modols 614

10. Melgarsh 616
11. Pam or Pirspurs 554
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes 564
    also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols

1. Kuur
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf
3. Pietarl
4. Kiötar
5. Kulkhem
6. Kiemen
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)

polkhliols

1. Nonkothkparl
2. Peffwitkoli
3. Putkoiven
4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many 173
generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This 887
is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the
Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, 582
as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* 642
has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda 614
tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of
the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-nganl-* 622
potvaylar, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious [793]
ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see [114]
The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field, by the same author, see Bibliography).
The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this [173]
office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to
descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh [776]
and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

553

child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists 852
of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet. 302

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because 604 this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it [616] off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, [858] but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether 304 they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they 796 cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, [616] they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. [793] The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). [604] Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. [616] The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. [413] The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their [562]

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are 562 784
supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never
came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed
calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to
approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that
they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed
to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a
ti-mad called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, [616]
not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [621]

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges 616
connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the 793
tarvalikartmokh has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all
women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be 837
Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety,
he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the
Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays,
and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays [834]
only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is
priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married.
The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he
wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within
the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers [114]
denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and
Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see
Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide 562
was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to [847]
which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a
patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they
treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property.
This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females
give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns
to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with 591
her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal
dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his 614
or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same 618
time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless
to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively 428
through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin 614

married Nalsirwuf, ceased being head of his immediate family (although 595
he was chief of the Melgarsh *modol*) and Pads, who already was the
legal father of Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn, became so in his
place. The mother never has any very important say in family matters, 562
and is treated as nothing more than an exalted kind of house servant.

As I have shown when discussing the question of Toda aggression, 578
there is considerable jealousy among members of the tribe, in such 152
matters as property and prestige. In sexual matters, however, there
seems to be less of it, no doubt because their institutions allow for a 182
number of outlets for their varying sexual fancy. Thus, the custom of
terershti allows a man to carry off the neighbour's wife whom he covets, 587
provided compensation in buffaloes is paid to the aggrieved party, and 837
that of *mokhthoditi* for him to take as partner any woman of the tribe
regardless of the moiety to which she belongs. There are other examples 793
that could be quoted, such as, for instance, the privilege enjoyed 837
by the lower class of Teivilkh priest of free access to all the women of
the *mad* in which they serve and the Toda-Muduga exchange of wives
of which Fürer-Haimendorf has spoken.

In spite of this, however, Kanvarsathi and various of my informants 178
were unanimous in stating that sexual jealousy did exist among the 578
Todas and, as they said, "more than it used to". There is a growing 152
modern trend of resistançe to *terershti*, the authority of the *noim* in such
matters being often challenged now by an appeal to the Government. 587
Again, informants claimed that the Todas did not take so readily any 623
more to polyandry as before – although I, personally, could not see any 648
falling away from this traditional form of marriage. The fact is, however, 595
that jealousy with the Todas is not as curbed as it is with other
polyandrous people. Because the property is divided between the brothers,
it is as if jealousy were not banned as a serious threat to economic
well-being as it is with others. The Todas, to put it briefly and in the
language of polyanders elsewhere, "can afford to be jealous", and they
are so at times with those outbursts of homicidal violence of which I
have spoken earlier, when treating of the subject of their aggression.

Regulation of sexual intercourse in a Toda polyandrous household 595
is again a matter af tacit understanding between the plural partners. 833
Asked if there were any signalling system, my informants without exception
ridiculed the idea, stating that it might perhaps have existed in the
past but certainly did not now. During my entire stay in the Niligiris, I
never came across any evidence of it. In the Melgarsh family, which
I specially studied, it appeared that the common wife, Erzigwuf, had no

[Melgarsh Village]

159 621 (6) Nalsirwurf: The young wife of Karnoz, whom he took in 1945, thus putting an end to the polyandrous arrangement with Pads. She is twenty-five years old – thirty-five years younger than her husband. She is a beautiful woman, probably the handsomest of the whole tribe, and knowns it. She assumes languorous, indolent airs, which give her a certain amount of added attraction, as it suits her dusky, classical features, and figure, but I was unable to make out if this behaviour was due to a deliberately studied poise or if it was the result of her life with Karnoz which, as was to be expected, is not a happy one; the old man is far too domineering and matter of fact with her, while obviously very proud that he has taken her to wife.

(7) MUTNARSH: An ugly, hard-working, intelligent and willful man, the real head of the whole family for which he selflessly works very hard. He is devoted to his wife and children and would do anything to assist them. When I first met Mutnarsh (after the birth of the two last twins) he struck me as being unreliable and unpleasant; but after I had got used to him, I came to appreciate his outstanding qualities as a husband and father, and developed considerable respect for him. He too is a gardener in the Botanical Gardens. [464]

[732] (8) KUDDHUE: A cripple, aged twenty-five, ten years younger than Mutnarsh. He cannot walk upright, the broken joints of his knees keeping him from extending these, and obliging him to walk with them constantly bent. The story which his family tells is that, as a child, he was sitting on the wall of the buffalo pen, when Kali (the Indian goddess of destruction) in the form of wind threw him down and broke both his legs. He is extremely ugly, with a wild look in his eyes, but on the other hand, he is exceptionally good-natured and happy, and is very attached to the children who do not, however, return his affection. He is nearly always employed as a priest, if not in the *tarvali* of the Melgarsh *mad*, in the tribe's *wursulis* for which he is very much sought after. [793]

[595] (9) MUNBOKWUTN: The youngest brother of the trio, aged nineteen. When I was in the Nilgiris ten years earlier, he was only nine, but already a polyandrous husband of the brothers' common wife, Erzigwuf. He is still only an overgrown boy, very athletic and strong, a great favourite of the children with whom he behaves more as a big brother than as a father. He takes an active part in the tending of the buffaloes, and is never far from the *mad* where he apparently likes to stay.

[842] (10) Erzigwuf: The embodiment of motherhood, aged thirty, she is one of the few fertile women of the tribe (there were one hundred Toda women who were sterile at the time of my stay in 1949). As she is so

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

361 From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be
342 seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered
621 respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the
[104] *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more
bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

342 In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

513
592
[793] Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

434
464
511 The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

[Melgarsh Village]

846 us spectators (Munbokwutn, the youngest father, was also there), started
796 crying. He insisted that he be given some water to drink, which was
183 done, although not strictly in accordance with custom. Sodam was also
given a little, as she too started to cry when she saw her little brother
getting what he wanted. But Sodup did not stop crying. He now complained
that they were taking his mother away, and that he would be
left without her. Sodam added her wails to his, and finally Erzigwuf
took them both along with her into the *puzharsh*, which was quite unorthodox.
[865] So there did appear, all the same, to be a certain amount of
jealousy in the hearts of the two elder twins.

In the middle of the ceremony, Kuddhue turned up. He was, at the
time, functioning as the *wursol* of the Karsh *mad*, and should strictly
[783] have remained on the job. He had even come to Melgarsh by the quickest
way, i.e. along the main road, which made him unclean and unable
[793] to resume his work as a priest without the complicated ritual of purification.
But he preferred to be *perol* ("ordinary man", that is, unclean),
he said, than to miss the new-born twins, whom he had not yet seen.
He brought some sweets for Sodup and Sodam, but the latter were already
in the *puzharsh* and could therefore not be given them.

124 In order to obtain information concerning initial maternal care of
children and the early development and education of the latter, I was
obliged to question Erzigwuf and not rely only on my observations
(which I would have preferred) as the time at my disposal did not allow
for the longer method.

853 Thus, in answer to my questions, she told me that she had breast-fed
[862] her children for the following lengths of time: Pershrörsh, one year and
a half; Narjilkh, three years; Pengelam, two years; Sodup and Sodam,
two and a half years. She had, she assured me, fed them this way even
after she was pregnant, the last set of twins until the seventh month.
[856] The fact that the babes had teethed when they were seven months old
had not kept her from continuing breast feeding; they had certainly
bitten her, but that was not much worse, she said, then their pulling and
scratching her breasts with their hands. Sodup had been especially bad
in this respect, tugging at her hair too, throwing stones and household
articles at her and, after he was a year old and could walk, saying aggressive
and sadistic things to her, such as his desire to disembowel her.
They behaved thus when she did not suckle them quickly enough but
also, she added, when suckling it seemed to add to their enjoyment.
862 The usual way to wean Toda children is to smear the nipples with the
plant called *poll*, but it had not been necessary to do this with the twins

342
361

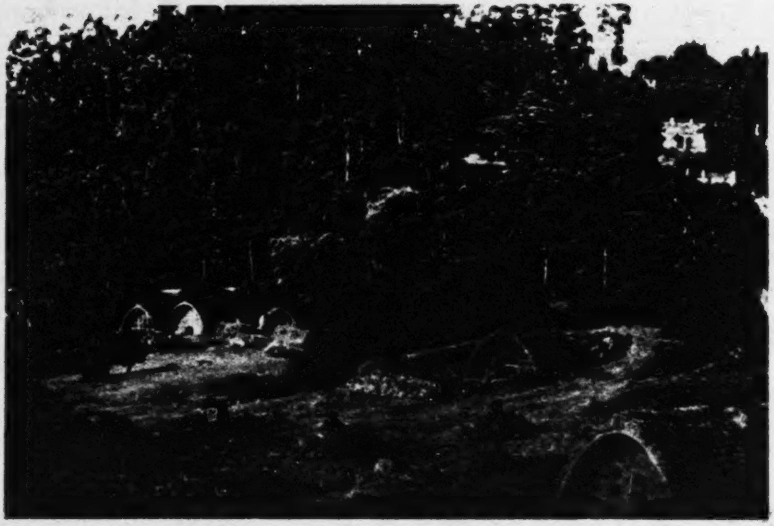
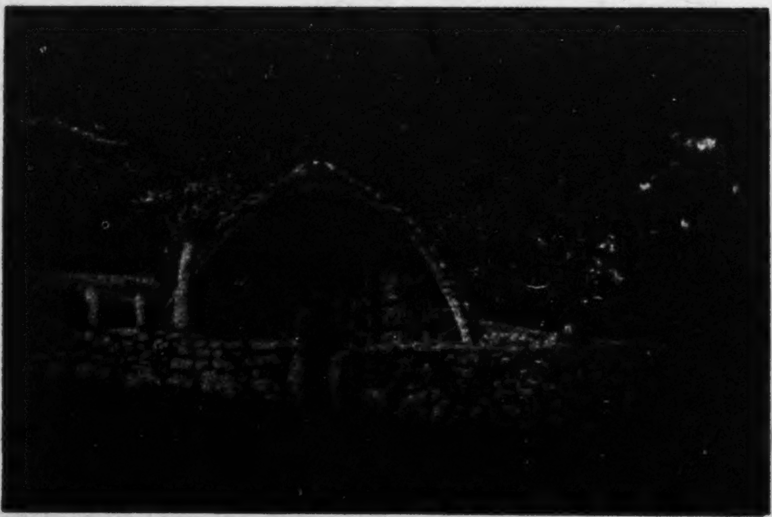


Fig. 22. A typical Toda mad in the Nilgiris: Karsh, near Ootacamund.

343
346



[793] Fig. 23. The *tarvali* of Melgarsh: Motsod, the *tarvalikartmokh* in his black *tuni* at the door.

[P 300-A]

142
291
302
516
845

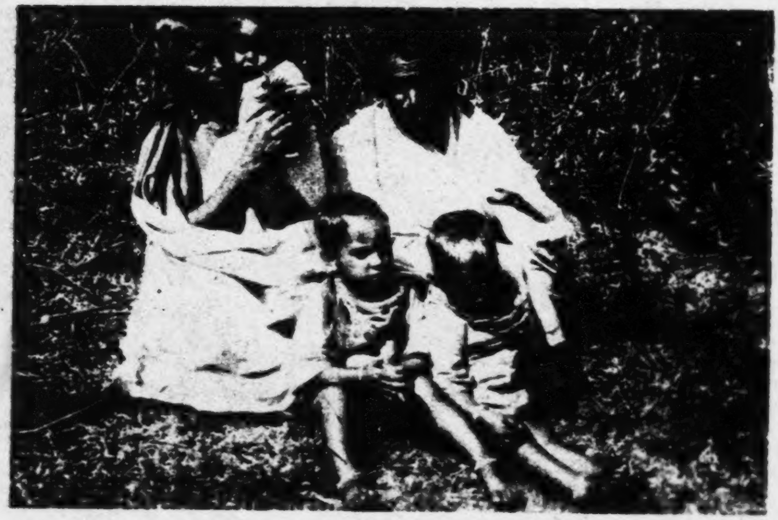


Fig. 28. Erzigwuf with Peterozn, Mutnarsh and the twins, Sodup and Sodam.

142
291
302
893

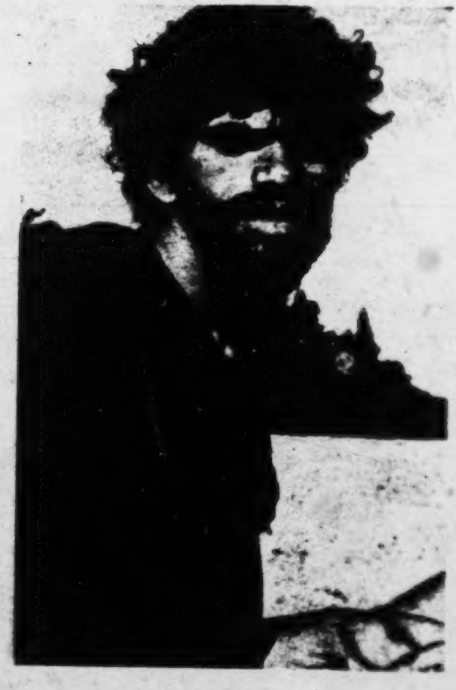


Fig. 29. Kuddhue.

[p 300-D]

S 121

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

TO 101

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work. TO [161]

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas,* see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[3] TO [616] [793]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like TO 233 [773] [262] TO [771]

---

[3] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation
[234] of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental
that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning,
may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
"patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated
bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public"
[595] statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
(611) Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can